

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

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TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, PINT, PO

SUBJECT: FALLACI INTERVIEWS CUNHAL

SUMMARY: "I REPEAT AND I CONCLUDE: PORTUGAL WILL NOT BE
A COUNTRY OF DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES AND OF MONOPOLIES. IT WILL
NOT BE A TRAVELLING COMPANION OF YOUR BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACIES.
BECAUSE WE (PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS) WILL NOT PERMIT IT.
PERHAPS THERE WILL BE A NEW FASCISM IN PORTUGAL; THAT'S A RISK
THAT MUST BE TAKEN ALTHOUGH.... I DON'T BELIEVE IN A FASCIST
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COUP (SINCE) WE COMMUNISTS CAN AVOID IT THANKS TO OUR

ALLIANCE WITH THE MILITARY. BUT, FOR SURE, WE WILL NOT HAVE A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PORTUGAL. NEVER." ALVARO CUNHAL, INTERVIEWED BY ORIANA FALLACI, /EUROPEO/, 13 JUNE, 1975. END SUMMARY.

1. CUNHAL, IN ABOVE-CITED INTERVIEW SPEAKS WITH BLUNTNESS AND CLARITY ON THE "SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL, THE

UNIQUE PATH OF PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST POLICY, AND THE IRRELEVANCE OF DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES TO MODERN POLITICAL LIFE IN PORTUGAL. HIGHLIGHTS FOLLOW; FULL TEXT BY AIRGRAM.

2. THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION: "TODAY THE AFM HAS ITS JURIDICAL, CONSTITUTIONAL EXPRESSION; IT HAS ITS LEGITIMACY WHICH IS A REVOLUTIONARY LEGITIMACY, AND WHO WOULD BE FOOLISH ENOUGH TO REFUSE IT? MOREOVER, I HAVE NEVER SEEN A REVOLUTION SUCCEED WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF THE MILITARY. LOOK AT CUBA. NOT HAVING AN ARMY, CASTRO HAD TO MAKE ONE...WITHOUT ARMS, YOU GET NOTHING." "WE HAVE SIGNED A FIVE-YEAR PACT WITH THE AFM AND THE IDEA OF OPPOSING THE ARMED FORCES DOESN'T ENTER THE HEAD." "I WANT THE ARMED FORCES BECAUSE I NEED THEM." "THE AFM IS NEITHER COMMUNIST NOR SOCIALIST, IT IS THE AFM. IT IS MADE UP OF MANY VIEWPOINTS BUT "IT IS INEVITABLE THAT WE COMMUNISTS BE IN AGREEMENT SINCE THEIR OBJECTIVES ARE OUR OBJECTIVES. AND ONE OF THESE OBJECTIVES IS POLITICAL POWER COMPOSED OF A POPULAR COMPONENT AND OF AMILITARY COMPONENT."

3. THE POLITICAL PROCESS, PARLIAMENT AND DEMOCRACY: "IF YOU THINK THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY WITH ITS 40 0/0 (OF THE VOTE) AND THE POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY WITH ITS 27 0/0 CONSTITUTE A MAJORITY, YOU ARE MISTAKEN. THEY DON'T HAVE THE MAJORITY. ..THE ELECTIONS HAVE LITTLE OR NOTHING TO DO WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY DYNAMIC. ..THE ELZCTORAL PROCESS IS COMPLETELY MARGINAL TO THAT DYNAMIC." AND "IF YOU THINK THAT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WILL DEVELOP WITHOUT THE AFM, YOU ARE MAKING A TREMENDOUS MISTAKE. IF YOU THINK THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WILL TRANSFORM ITSELF INTO A PARLIAMENT, YOU ARE MAKING A RIDICULOUS ERROR." THE ASSEMBLY "WILL DEVELOP IN A POLITICAL FRAME WELL DETERMINED AND CONDITIONED BY THE AGREEMENTS SIGNED

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WITH THE AFM...BECAUSE IT IS THE AFM WHICH MADE THE REVOLUTION OF APRIL 25, NOT THE SOCIALIST PARTY." "WE COMMUNISTS DON'T ACCEPT THIS GAME OF ELECTIONS." "THE SOLUTION OF (OUR) PROBLEMS WEIGHS HEAVILY ON THE REVOLUTIONARY DYNAMIC; THE BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WOULD TRUST IN THE OLD CONCEPTS OF ELECTIONS, INVOKING LEGALITY." "YOU SPEAK OF LAWS TO BE RESPECTED. BUT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS, LAWS ARE MADE, NOT RESPECTED. UNDERSTAND? REVOLUTION DOES NOT RESPECT LAW,

IT MAKES IT."

4. THE PCP AND OTHER EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES: QUESTIONED RE POSSIBLE ADOPTION BY THE PCI OF "TOGLIATTI'S CHOICE,,I.E., ENTERING THE SO-CALLED BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY," CUNHAL REPLIED: " NO (SEVENIIMES): WE HAVE ALREADY OBTAINED MUCH MORE. TODAY PRIVATE BANKS DON'T EXIST IN PORTUGAL, ALL THE FUNDA-MENTAL SECTORS ARE NATIONALIZED, AGRARIAN REFORM IS ABOUT TO BE REALIZED, CAPITALISM IS DESTROYED, MONOPOLIES ARE ABOUT TO BE DESTROYED, AND ALL OF THIS IS AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS. IRREVERSIBLE* THEREFORE, TO COMMUNISTS OF WESTERN COUNTRIES, TO THEIR COMPLAINTS, WE RESPOND: WE DON'T WAIT FOR THE RESULTS OF ELECTIONS TO CHANGE THINGS AND DESTROY THE PAST. OUR REVOLUTION HAS NOTHING IN COMMON WITH YOUR SYSTEMS."

5. COMMENT: CUNHAL'S VIEWS, AT LEAST AS REPORTED BY FALLACI, ARE BEING INTRODUCED INTO ITALY'S ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN BY DC PARTY SECRETARY FANFANI, E.G., IN SPEECH MAY 7 AT PARTY RALLY IN PALERMO. MEANTIME, AS OF THIS WRITING, LOCAL PRESS REPORTS CUNHAL HAS CHARGED FALLACI WITH "TEMIDENTIOUS TWISTING" OF HIS STATEMENTS. FALLACI HAS FIRED BACK, SAYING SHE HAS THE TAPES TO BACK HER TEXT.VOLPE

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